

LETTER

TO THE

W H I G S.

OCCASION'D BY

The LETTER to the TORIES.

Quis tulcrit Gracchos de Seditiōe querentes? JUV.



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A

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M. H. G. E.

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A Letter to the WHIGS, &c.

GENTLEMEN,

AS one of the Points of your Political Creed, for which you have most struggled, and in Defence of which you have gained most Honour, is the Liberty of the Press, I cannot sit by an unconcern'd Spectator, having the Honour to call myself a Whig, and see this darling Privilege openly and publickly attacked under Countenance of Men in Power, without endeavouring to alarm you, and to excite that Spirit in defending, which you have formerly exerted so nobly in acquiring.

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I cannot pretend to guess what so dangerous Plan the M—try have laid in their Secret Cabinet, that makes Them find it necessary to burst through the Usages of Parliament, and to threaten the Liberty of the Press. The former has already been put in Practice, by Men who call themselves Whigs, who receiv'd whatever Knowledge They have in a Whig-school, and who, till the late Coalition, seem'd to reckon Septennial Parliaments the greatest Security of *English* Freedom. For the latter, as They have met with more Indulgence from the Press than any Ministers that ever govern'd in *England*, it is the greatest Ingratitude, and the greatest Want of their favourite affected Candour, to quarrel with what has hurt Them so little ; unless they look upon the Silence of the Press as Contempt, and on Themselves as insignificant, till They have been treated like other great Ministers. They may perhaps serve for Parallels to future Ministers of

of little Genius; but to which that are dead do They expect to be compared ?

However, as there are daily Hints thrown out at restraining the Liberty of the Press, to feel the Temper of Mankind, and to pave the Way for the Attempt, it can only be supposed that They have some Scheme in reserve, that will not bear Examination, nor stand Reply, and that as They are choosing a New Parliament to force it down our Throats, so They will have a Licenser to check any Observations that may be made upon it, and to stifle any Appeals that may be made to the People against it.

That I may not be accused of asserting any Thing without Foundation, I beg my Readers to look over a News-paper, called the *D—— A——*, avowedly countenanced by the *M——y*; in that of the Twenty eighth of last *May* are these Words: *What Pity is it that one of the most*

invaluable Blessings we enjoy as Englishmen (the Liberty of the Press) shou'd be productive of so great an Evil—as what? to furnish the Enemies of the Government—with what? —with so many trifling Complaints against the Conduct of its Ministers. Trifling Complaints are indeed a very great Evil! yet what our fretful M——s think a sufficient Excuse for taking away the Liberty of the Press.

This was one of the first Signals fired to raise the Ministerial Possé against the Press, and has been dutifully and frequently repeated in the same daily Paper, and in it's Companion the *G— A—*; for which I recommend them to the proper Distinction which they deserve from the Publick, who, I do not doubt, will discourage so impudent an Attempt by an instant Neglect of such infamous Papers.

The Way thus paved, the little Pop Guns thus fired, it was Time for a more eminent Commander to appear
and

and dignify the Attack: Accordingly a Chief, who certainly owes better to the Press, which has groaned beneath his Labours in sundry Shapes, and teem'd with Pastorals, *Persian* Letters, Songs, Satires, Journals and Pamphlets of all Kinds, from Libels on the K—— to Panegyricks on St. *Paul*; this letter'd Chief steps forth and brandishes his Hackney Lance, like another *Quixote*, to the great Dismay of all Literature, which He has not been content to murder as an Author, but would demolish as a Minister.

This Man, I say, thus speaks the Sense of the Coalition, after a slap at the very Dignity of Parliaments, which He expresses by *an Anxiety about Parliamentary Squabbles*.--But Parliament, or Press are equally Trifles to a Patriot, who has made his Market by Both. Let us hear his Words: *They might, without any Danger, exert with Spirit and Vigour the full Power of Legal Government, check and even suppress the infamous Licence of the Press, unknown*

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*known to all other Ages and Nations,
and destructive of Civil Society.*

O Author, is it possible, can there be such a Profligacy in the Nature of Man as to carry him through the writing such a Paragraph as This, after all Speeches made, all the Papers wrote in Defence of the Press in it's utmost Latitude? Unless all that former Virtue was counterfeit, or all the present Sanctity, Hypocrisy, blush and retract! or fairly tell the Publick, that you think every Calumny was lawful, that tended to asperse your Enemies in Power, every Insinuation is to be stifled, now you are powerful yourself. Or if the Licence of the Press was so unknown, whence did you draw all the Precedents that you have quoted in Defence of it? If it is so destructive to Society, was it only in the Period of your own Patriotism that it was harmless and allowable! But I drop the Author to return to his Book: What Success it may have with his Pupils the Tories I know not; They best know

know whether they will listen to his new Doctrines; and tho' He is so ample in his Promises and Offers, I should not think, after what has happened, that They would much rely on either.

But so serious, so essential a Privilege is surely not to be thus boisterously treated with Impunity; nor can I believe, that should the least Restraint be attempted to be laid upon the Press in a Parliamentary Way, that venerable Body could be biaſſed to consent to it; tho' I own that future Parliaments may be terrified into what no ministerial Authority could extort from former Assemblies. They now subsist at the Pleasure of a Minister, and if refractory, may be cashiered at Will. The only Method that I can think of to discourage so flagrant and so audacious an Attempt on one of our most valuable Privileges, is for the Parliament to interpose first, and censure such a Doctrine in it's Infancy; no Minister will be
hardy

hardy enough to set on Foot such a Bill, if the Representatives of the Nation have stigmatized such a Scheme in it's Embrio, and branded the Ministerial Scribbler that durst advance such Opinions.

But before I examine the Materials of this impudent Performance, it may be necessary to ascertain the Principles of the Author, which being once cleared, Those to whom, and Those against whom He writes will be the better able to judge what Stress is to be laid on his Arguments.

The Three great Parties that divide this Nation are Whig, Tory and Jacobite; I do not mention the flying Squadron of Patriots, Those Corsairs in Politics, who hang out the Colours alternately of any People that are at War, the better to prey on both Side.

The Principles of the Whigs, I take to be, Liberty (under which is included the Liberty of the Press) as established by the Revolution; Submission to the King,

King, as Part of the Legislature, and Resistance to any Part of the Legislature that assumes a Power not inherent in it by the Constitution.

The Tories are for a higher Reverence of the Royal Authority, and desire that the Power called Prerogative should exist in some Degrees independently of the Constitution; though whatever the Letter-Writer may pretend, the Tories departed from the Doctrines of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance, whereas he owns himself, *pag. 6.* they had no Quarrel with K. *William's* Title. But a Man who writes for a Ministry, and would draw all Parties into one Comprehension under that Ministry, must be pardoned some Contradictions. Is it not a Contradiction, to say the Tories acknowledged K. *William's* Title, the most Whig Title on Record; and in *pag. 13.* to own that they maintain the old Doctrine of Passive Obedience? *Away*, as the Author says,

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with such Childishness! Did they resist K. *James* on the Principles of Non Resistance?

For the Principles of the Jacobites, they are evidently circumscribed within the Desire of restoring the House of *Stuart*; if I put it in other Words, and said, they wished to overturn the House of *Hanover*, I might include the Letter-Writer, which is not my Intention; though after the Battle of *Dettingen*, He and his Faction took large Strides towards making the House of *Hanover* so odious in the Eyes of this Nation, that the *Stuarts* almost construed it into Zeal for their Service; witness one of the Pretender's Declarations, where he gives the Disaffection on the Subject of the *Hanover* Troops as the principal Motive to his Undertaking. But I will pass the Letter-Writer his Jacobitism, as He disclaims it, though I take active Jacobitism, that is only founded on personal Discontent or personal Ambition, to be

be worfe and more dangerous, than that speculative Sort which owes it's Birth to Principle or Education.

I might give up too his not being a Whig, as He calls himself a Tory; but as that is only to serve a present Purpose, as to serve others He has called himself a Whig, I shall not ground my Assertion of his not being a Whig on his own Declaration, but on his audacious Menace to the Liberty of the Press; a Threat that never came out of the Mouth of a Whig, even though he were a First Minister; and to that curious Paragraph in the above-quoted *page 13.* where He maintains, that the *Duty of Passive Obedience is due either to all Established Governments, or to none*: By this Rule, Passive Obedience was due to *James the Second's* Government, or to none: That was an Established Government. It was equally due to *Oliver Cromwell's*, and may become so to the present M—try's, when they shall have totally laid aside Parliaments *from their*

Dislike of Parliamentary Squabbles, as they have already assumed a Power of Dissolving Them at Pleasure; and when they have *Checked or even Suppressed the Liberty of the Press.* You, Gentlemen, who are Whigs (I speak to you as such, abstractedly from all Ministerial Connections) will please to examine this Position of our Author's, will consider what Superstructures may be raised on it, will consider what absolute Power is aimed at by these Doctrines of suppressing the Liberty of the Press, and of Passive Obedience being due to all Established Governments indiscriminately. You will reflect whether *Magna Charta*, the Bill of Rights, and the whole Tenour of the Revolution be not *toto Cælo* repugnant to this *Don Quixote*, who would force every Body to own the Comeliness of his *Dulcinea* ministerial Power, though their Eyes and their Senses, their whole Lives and their Principles combine to disagree with Him.

When

When the Bill for Subjecting the Stage to the Power of a Court Officer was brought into Parliament, every Body must remember, to his Immortal Honour, with what Eloquence, what Force of Arguments, and Power of Wit, the honest Earl of *Chesterfield* combated so dangerous an Innovation. From the same unanswerable Tongue Whiggism still expects her Preservation. His Lordship, though a Minister, has never dipped his Pen in dirty Attacks on the Press, which has given the World so many lasting Orations of His in Defence of Liberty, nor employed his Wit and his Learning to re-establish exploded Opinions, and nonsensical Doctrines. The voluntary Approbation that all Men give to his being in Place does Him Honour. Did he resemble some of his Associates, no Monkish System of Passive Obedience could extort their Applause. Nor has he ever wrote Addresses to Tories, on Tory Principles, to flatter the fluctuating Opinions of some that
call

call themselves Whig-Ministers, but whose Genius is certainly best suited to the narrow gloomy Notions of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance, as to those Doctrines too they can only owe Security from their perpetual Alarms and Fears. But I digress— What I would have said, was, that when the Play-House Bill was in Agitation, the then Patriots prophesied most roundly, that if the Liberty of the Stage was once abridged, it would be followed by an Inquisition for the Press: and when the Plays of *Mallet* and *Thomson* were prohibited, did not they plume Themselves, and very justly, with having the Press still open to convey the Sentiments of Liberty to the Nation? I call on those Authors, who have never dishonoured those Sentiments to rise up in Defence of the threaten'd Press, and do it the Justice which they particularly owe it. But our Parliamentary Patriots have it seems determined to be true Prophets, and because the old Ministry did not accomplish

accomplish their Prophecies, are resolved to do it themselves ; and make a Point of putting in Execution a Scheme which they thought cou'd only be attempted by S. R. W.

It remains only to be proved now, that the Letter-Writer is no Tory, as for the present Job he wou'd be thought. He says, *p. 9*, that the Way for Tories to recover their Character, which by the Way I do not know that they have lost ; the Patriots *have* lost their Character, and this Author, who can direct People to find what they have not lost, as Conjurers do, who direct Folks to stolen Goods which they were Accomplices in stealing, will, I believe, scarce be able to find out a *Nostrum* for re-establishing a Patriot's Character ; in short his Method is, for them *to do their first Works, as well as to profess their old Principles—doing their first Works* is opposing Whigs, which they do surely, and till He has proved they have not
profess'd

profess'd their old Principles, the World will be inclined to believe they have—but here comes the rest of the Receipt ; by Reverence to the Person of the King, by discountenancing the saucy Democratical Spirit of Sediti-on, and by a Religious Observance of the Laws according to their Oaths and their Allegiance. I will join Issue with Him on these Premises, and wou'd be glad to know, whether on these Principles a Staunch Tory can accept of the blank Commissions, which he offers them with ministerial Authority, and whether Toryism will suffer its Disciples to league with the present ruling Faction ?

Let me ask a few fair Questions ; Have the Tories shewed a want of Reverence to the King ? Have they saucily obtruded themselves upon Him, into his very Closet ? Have they, after insulting Him personally on the Affair of his *German* Dominions, and after contributing to proscribe his Electoral Troops, which
occasion'd

occasion'd the Loss of the most fatal Battle that *England* ever saw, have they thrust themselves into his Presence and his Councils? Have the Tories forced Ministers upon Him, as well as from Him? Was it the Tories who, in the Heat of Rebellion, seditiously deserted his Royal Side, because He did not care to trust one of their Body at so dangerous a Conjunction with one of the most important Posts in his Council? Have the Tories done all this? If they have, they indeed *have wanted Reverence to the Person of the King, ought to be reclaim'd to do their first Works, and taught to profess their old Principles*, which surely are not consistent with any of the Works and Principles of the present Ministry. *A saucy democratical Spirit of Sedition* appears in the Instances I have nam'd, *as Religious Observance of the Laws is most* contradictory to a Spirit that preaches up a Suppression of the Liberty of the Press. From
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all this I infer, that no real Tory can be Author of this Libel, especially as no Tory thinks his Party stands in Need of recovering their Character. What the Author means by their having lost it, I suppose was their formerly having been confounded with the Jacobites. That Imputation they surely wiped off, by the Zeal of their whole Party for his Majesty in the Time of the Rebellion; not by perverse and peevish Opposition of his Royal Will, not by abandoning Him while it was raging, but by Addresses, Subscriptions, Associations for his Defence. When the Pretender marched to *Derby*, did one Tory join Him? Indeed who did in *England*, but a few pitiful Vagrants; so that I shou'd think even supposed Jacobites had wiped off that Aspersions, and *had untrod their Steps*; that they had even verified what has been so often asserted by the noble Earl abovemention'd, that Jacobitism was extinguish'd in *England*. But
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all these Proofs have no Weight with this Author; in his Eyes nothing can recover a lost Character, but voting with the present Ministry, accepting Places under them, *Passive Obedience to any Established Government whatsoever*, and a *Disposition to check, or even suppress the Liberty of the Press*. Ingredients equally new and curious, and every one of which I have known have the direct contrary Effect to what the Author proposes, *videlicet*, Recovery of Character.

Having thus fully proved, that the Author in Question is no Whig, no Tory, nor professed Jacobite, it remains that He can only be of that Illustrious Denomination, Apostate Patriots; I say Apostate, because no true Patriot wou'd either discourage the Liberty of the Press, or encourage Passive Obedience. An Apostate wou'd do both; from the former, He wou'd live in Apprehensions of hearing of his broken Oaths, of his Party and of his Country betray'd, and tho' in

Public He may support all these Accusations with an *unembarrassed Countenance*, in private they must torture him to the Soul, mortify his Vanity, and embitter even the sweet Pleasures of Power and Profit; for whose Sake too He must wish to re-establish that exploded Doctrine, Passive Obedience, which has never been treated of seriously by any Man of Sense, since the Days of Queen *Anne*, till this *maquiloquent Scribler*, to use a ridiculous Word of his own Coining, drew it out of its Obscurity, and out of the Lumber of Libels, with which He had furnish'd his Library, when He was a Controversial Writer on the other Side of the Question.

I must desire my Readers to make this Reflection with me, that our present Rulers have dissolved the Parliament in an Unconstitutional Manner, and are striking at the Liberty of the Press, like Tories, and treat Majesty with the Dictatorial Insolence

solence of the Whigs in the Time of *Charles* the first ; a happy Jumble of Principles, and the natural and constant Result of a partial Coalition ! I shall say but one Word more on the Subject of the Press, and then proceed to the Letter itself. I am aware that the Letter-Writer thinks to disentangle Himself, by having called it the Licence of the Press : a frippery Art, and not of his own Invention ; it has always been termed so by the Enemies of Liberty, and He may have picked the Expression out of the *Free Briton* and *London Journal*, and some such Trash, which it was his Province to answer under the old Ministry. Suppose it is Licentious, *it is a bad Effect, but from a glorious Cause*, and with all it's Blemishes, I believe this Country will not part with it to quiet an anxious Ministry, or a profligate Faction ; They must deserve better of their Country, before it makes them any such Sacrifice. Besides, let them reflect,

reflect, that since one Tribe has come into Place, this Licence has totally ceased, from whence saucy Men will draw a shrewd Conclusion, that the very Persons who complain of the Grievance were the Authors of it themselves. We see no Lists now in different Colours of who voted for or against *Hanover* Troops; no Journals to assure Mankind, that whoever has a Place, must be a Villain; no *Grubstreet* Ballads on yellow Sashes, *Brunswick* Mum, and Pumpernickle; no satirical Odes on new Ministries, no scurrilous Epitaphs on the Deaths of Princes, such as that celebrated one, imputed to the same Author as this Letter to the Tories, where a great Queen, who on the Testimony of the Clergy made a most pious End, was said to have — *Unforgiving, unforgiven died.*

These were Licences, yet the Press was never attempted to be silenced; Mankind knew that it would be silent of itself, whenever the Authors of such Ribaldry

Ribaldry got Preferment. The King is now mentioned on every Occasion with the highest Respect, and treated with it too, unless by the Faction. The Ministers are never mentioned, but to say that they are gone to their Villas, or have given a sumptuous *French* Dinner. But granting they were, are they to be sacred too?—Are *Englishmen* to be prohibited writing on their Conduct? Are our Books to be ushered into the World thus? *J'ai lû tel outel Livre, par Ordre de Mons^r le Garde des Sceaux, & je crois que l'on peut en permettre l'Impression, Chloë.* Are Patriots to be exempt from all Reproach, who have fomented Oppositions, given handle to Rebelions, made it disgraceful to have Commerce with Courtiers, and at last turned Courtiers themselves?—Are they with Impunity for the first Part of their Lives to brand half the Kingdom for Rogues, and for the latter Part to asperse the other Half as Jacobites? But I have done with the Prefs, and
do

do not doubt but it will remain inviolate, notwithstanding the Handle that has been given to discredit it, by the libellous Writings of Patriots, and by this profligate Letter to the Tories.

The First Position which the Author lays down, (*viz.*) The great Majority of the Tories, I hold not to be a true one, tho' I sincerely believe that He thinks they are the most considerable Body of People in the Nation, by the Pains he has taken to get them over to his Faction; unless he had thought them the most numerous, I have too high an Opinion of his Political Views, to believe that he wou'd have ventured disobliging the Whigs in the Manner he has done in this Book.

If the Tories are really so formidable a Body, how came they at the last general Election, when the Parliament was carried against the Whigs, to have so small a Share in the Number of Members? Great Part of the Opposition

position was composed of Patriots, and of the remaining Part, if we will believe the Letter-Writer Himself, there was some Leaven of Jacobites. Now the only Way for Him to prove that two thirds of the Gentry and nine in ten of the Clergy are Tories, is to give up his System of Jacobitism, which all *England* seems to have renounced and exploded but himself, (and he only keeps it in Play, to bestow on such Tories as shall not obey the Call in his Letter) and then probably a very considerable Part of the Nation may remain Tories. For the poor Whigs, after the Manner in which they have been treated by their Chiefs, or in which their Chiefs have suffered them to be treated by the Patriots, they must sit down contented with the Character which this Auxiliary Ally of the M—try has bestowed on them, that *They are a Faction, despicable and detestable in it's Origin; naturally disagreeable to all Princes, except, perhaps, in the un-*

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thinking Seasons of Sedition and Confusion.

A Description this, that if it had not been wrote by a *quondam* Patriot, any Man living would have taken for a Picture of modern Patriots ; but it is a Boon this *Swiss*-Orator bestows on the Whigs, and I dare to say they will accept it with profound Silence and Submission.

The very next Paragraph seems to labour with a Contradiction to the foregoing. The Author asks a Question about K. *William*, who, He says, was strongly prejudiced in Favour of the Whigs.—I thought they had been naturally disagreeable to all Princes. The Question is ; how that King was contented to employ and trust Tories ? I will tell Him ; just as another King has been CONTENTED to employ and trust PATRIOTS : Because He could not help it. They got the Majority in Parliament, and if He had not taken them into PLACE, they would have deserted Him in the Heat
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of a War with *France*, and when his Dominions were threatned with an Invasion in Favour of the Pretender. Is that Question answered? I can give much such an Answer to the Interrogatory about Queen *Anne*, without indecently hinting at *even her Bedchamber*, a barbarous Hint, and certainly an artful Way of pleasing the Tories, who *must* be caught with Reflections on their great and good Patroness. She was persuaded to fill her Armies, Fleets, Council and Household with Whigs, by *her Treasurer*, who she knew was born and bred a Tory, who had been in the Treasury under her Father, and engaged in all the Schemes, that had drove the Whigs upon the Revolution: Exactly the Case, *mutatis mutandis*, of another Monarch, whose Treasurer was a Whig originally, but countenanced Letters to Tories, that offered them the right Hand of Fellowship. Perhaps this Question is answered too.

The Parenthesis (*many of them angry, and to say the Truth, disaffected*) is so applicable to my looking on the Patriots in the Light of Jacobites at the Time of the *Hanover* Troops, that I could not help remarking it.

In the next Page, he says, *The blessed Whigs of those Times spared no Pains to possess the Court with a Persuasion that there were but two Parties in the Nation, Hanoverians and Jacobites.* His own Aim seems to be to establish the same Distinction. Jacobites he has determined shall be one Party, under whom He intends shall list the Dissenters (*P. 16.*) Republicans, another Set of Men that nobody knew existed till he discovered them, and a few Whigs, (*P. 17.*) the other, when he has got the Tories to Court, are to be *Hanoverians*, after his own Example.

P. 8. Is a Picture of the Opposition when the Patriots headed it.

The Behaviour of the Tories to the King, *since they were rid of the Disaffection*

affection and Petulance of the young Whig Patriots, (P. 14.) sufficiently proves that the whole Mass and Body of the Tories was not corrupted. The Chief of them have been to pay their Duty to the King, without desiring to be paid for it; they exerted themselves for him during the Rebellion; they have unanimously concurred in Parliamentary Addresses to him, and in supporting his great Measures. No indecent Expressions have been used in their Speeches, and though they have continued opposing *Hanover* Troops, no Virulence has been vented against them, nor any Poison diffused against their Master. The Tories thought and still think those Troops unnecessary to this Country. They did not first oppose them with Bitterness, then clandestinely connive at them, and lastly defend them without any Confusion. They would have blushed if all the World had seen that they were not converted but corrupted.

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The Picture of the Whigs in *Page* 9th, is as little advantageous, as that of the Tories in the preceding. He says, *the bare Merit of bating Tories daily advances Dunces in the Law and Church*; the Former of which has seldom seen a Preferment in it, but at the Recommendation of the present Great Man, who so worthily presides over it, and who surely never countenanc'd Dunces; and the Latter has not only at the Head of it a Prelate illustrious for his Learning, and who never was reckon'd a Whig; but the great Complaint of the Whigs has constantly been, that the Rev^d Bishop, who had so long and so great Power with Sir *R. W.* never recommended any but Tories.

The Fleet and the Army, by this Drawcanfir's Account, who in the most foul mouth'd Manner calls the Commanders in both, Cowards, tho' we hope in this daily Preferment of Cowards, that he excepts the brave Prince who commands our Forces, and
to

to whom, as he has so great Power in the Disposal of Commissions, he makes but an uncouth Compliment, is as ill served as the Church and Law; the King's House, which he spares as little as Queen *Anne's* Bedchamber, is stuffed with Republicans; and lest any Set of Men that serve the King should escape his Censure, he declares, that *Idiots are advanced every where. Such is the Language of a Man who complains of the Licence of the Press!* But when once Men have given up their Pens to abuse, they can as little reclaim them, as Ladies can their Tongues; if they cease to defame the Court, they make themselves amends, by aspersing the Country. Even their Friends are sometimes bespattered in the general flinging of Dirt. When the Letter-Writer was calling all Men in Office Dunces and Idiots, his Warmth made him overlook the many Preferments heaped on his own Family. I should tire my Readers with Repetitions of such Railing,

Railing, and of Periods which suit none but Him and his Friends; of his alternately reviling Whigs and Tories, the Former of whom He resolves into Republicans, as He does the Latter into Jacobites, and of his treating with the utmost Contempt the poor inoffensive, but numerous and loyal Body of Dissenters. I shall only observe, that if what I have said elsewhere of the Patriots Behaviour to the K—— be true, the Author *cannot hope to have it believ'd, that in their Hearts they acknowledge Him for their King, nor that He, to whom they behave so undutifully, can be the King they mean, when they talk of Passive Obedience and Non Resistance. P. 10.* If they are not Jacobites, this Paragraph will let us into the Secret of who are the Republicans, whom we find so often mention'd in the Letter before me.

I now

I now come to the disclosing of the Author's great View in this Letter. The first Part pretends to press on the Tories, their Allegiance to the King, as the Conclusion very soberly puts them in Mind of their Duty to God—Two exceeding good Lessons, though neither of them immediately necessary to be enforced on the Tories, who have not remarkably swerved in either. But the Drift of the Book is to persuade the Tories *to vote with the Author*, and He has fairly open'd to them the very Arguments, which we may suppose had Weight with Himself. Being convinc'd that their Principles will not immediately lead them after Him, by a *blind Sagacity*, He takes true Pains to let them see how much it will be for their Interest. He assures them, that in Conjunction with the Jacobites,

F *they*

they can do NOTHING. The Patriots *have done Something* in Conjunction with the Jacobites; are the Tories greater Dunces and Idiots than the Patriots? But they have tried long and found it so. From what Cause? Because the Patriots left the Tories in the Lurch, and have patch'd up with the Whigs, in the very Manner for which they so much abused the great Persons who first quitted Opposition on the Dismission of the old Minister, though it was the Point for which they had always most professedly stickled. He gives another Reason to shew why the Tories can do nothing in Opposition, which is the new Strength accruing to the Protestant Interest, by the declining of the Jacobite Cause *and otherwise.* I beg my Readers to take particular Notice of this emphatical Word OTHERWISE, which will unravel all the Mystery of false Patriotism,

ism, and confirm all that I have advanced. Can any other Interpretation be given to this oracular Word, than, that the Protestant Succession is strengthen'd by the Decline of the Jacobites and by the Accession of the Patriots? The Result of which Reasoning will be, that the Patriots had weaken'd the Protestant Cause, and have been doing the Work of the Jacobites: A Conclusion that no Man in his Senses will disallow. Surely, surely, the Patriots are not very Happy in

Tali auxilio, nec Defensoribus Isbis!

The following Pages do nothing but ring the Changes, upon Votes, bandied about between Jacobites and Tories, Whigs and Dissenters; Parliamentary Calculations on Interest

in Elections, in which the Author seems a great Proficient ; and the Progression of Principles from the highest Pinnacle of Jacobitism, to the lowest Level of Heterodoxy and Republicanism. The Upshot of the whole, is a Direction to Voters, which may be called the *Rule of Comparison*, by which they are to know exactly how to chuse Candidates by the Measure of their Principles. The Degrees lie thus ; a False Patriot, a Tory, a Church-Whig, a Dissenting-Whig, a Republican, a Jacobite. This Rule once laid down, no other Considerations are to have any Weight with Electors ; no Virtues may recommend a Man of any one of these Classes in Preference to a Competitor, who takes the Pass of Him by the *Rule of Comparison*. Neighbourhood, Family-Interest, real Services done to a Borough, or to our Country, are never to be thrown
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into the Scale. A new Set of Weights, like those advertised to detect Counterfeit Guineas, will be stamped at the Treasury, and distributed to returning Officers before every General Election. And as this Rule of Comparifon is made the Standard for Members of Parliament, fo we may humbly apprehend that it will be applied to Candidates for Offices; which will at leaft be fome Satisfaction to the Whigs, who will thus know how foon it will come to their Turn to be taken any notice of.

It is every Day publickly denounced in Print by the Ministerial Writers, that the Country Party is at an End, and that there is no Diftinction now but Courtiers and Jacobites; the Context of which Maxim is, that all Men will be treated as Rebels, who will not be Creatures of the Miniftry.

Another

Another Use in this Position is, that while the Phantom of Jacobitism is made to appear in terrible Shapes, and one can never know when nor where it will shew itself, a Foundation is laid for keeping up the Army, after the War shall be over. Passive Obedience and the silencing of the Press are Measures already entered upon, not only to render the present Ministry absolute, but perpetual. A deep and dangerous Foundation, not fit to be specified, is already laid for securing their Power hereafter by Military Authority. We may depend upon it, that Men who profess two such high flown Principles of Toryism, will not neglect the Third, and indeed the only one that can execute the other two; yet the Letter-Writer is so modest as not to hint at the keeping up the Army; probably because he knows Men cannot yet have forgot, that their favourite

vourite Orator pledged his Honour, if that is any Security, that the Army should be disbanded, as soon as Peace is proclaimed. As our Author has not touched on the Army, I shall forbear to say more upon that Subject at present; except to throw out, that as the Numbers of our Troops were exceedingly exaggerated last Winter to serve a Purpose, the same Art of Political Lying may be exercised to diminish their Magnitude, when they are to be brought over to enforce Passive Obedience and Non Resistance.

In *Page 13th*, the Author mentions some of the Causes that have formerly occasioned Imputations of Jacobitism; one in particular, was the ridiculing unreasonable and unseasonable Panics. One of those Panics was the meditated Invasion from *Dunkirk* in 1743, an Instance which
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the Author's Prudence had better have drop'd, in regard to a noble Friend of his, who on receiving, in the Time of the last Rebellion, the Pretender's Declaration, printed two Years before, did confess, that now he did believe there was something in the *Dunkirk* Project. Another Panic I can recollect, was when the Duke was stopped from demolishing the Rebels in their Flight from *Derby*, occasioned by the mighty Flota seen in Imagination on the Coast of *Sussex*, by a Custom-house Officer, and transmitted with all it's Terrors to his Superiors. If ridiculing that Panic occasioned any Imputation of Jacobitism, I fear two thirds of the Gentry, and nine in ten of the Clergy were reckoned Jacobites.

On summing up the Reasons that ought to draw Tories to Court, and encourage

encourage Electors to vote for Court Candidates, he roundly and authoritatively offers all that shall obey the Summons, the right Hand of Fellowship; a Practice that in other Words I should call bribing Voters; and I ground my Opinion on his assuring them, that *the Whigs will not be able to look them in the Face, either in Court or Parliament.* This Expression I interpret, (as one can only construe an obscure Author's Meaning by what appears to be his general Opinion) all Preferments in Court, and all Favours in Parliament shall be bestowed on Tories; Whigs will be out of Countenance, as Men are apt to be, who are slighted and neglected by those whom they have served, and from whom they have reason to expect Kindness and Protection. They will hang their Heads, murmur inwardly at the Ingratitude of their Leaders, and will not be able

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to

to look in the Faces of their Enemies, who alone shall be favour'd and prefer'd by the Minister. At the same Time an handsome unintended Encomium on the poor Whigs, slips from this inveterate Writer; he seems to have no Notion, that the worst Usage can drive true blue Whigs on Opposition; I don't think it can; they will never venture to shake the Crown on his Majesty's Head, because they are personally discontented and ill used by his Ministry. If they were capable of covering private Resentment with the Mask of publick Spirit, what should hinder their looking Tories, or even Patriots in the Face in any Quarter? They have looked them in the Face when they were headed by greater Men, greater Genius's, greater Spirits, than any that figure now in the Front of Parties. They have looked Tories in the Face
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at Court, when the *Oxfords* and *Bolingbrokes* shone upon them with all the Blaze of Power; and in Parliament when the *Windhams* and other illustrious Names reflected a Glory upon Toryism, which the Author with all his Cabal, all his Protectors, all his Pedantry, are so far from matching, that it makes Men merry to see such ridiculous Characters, giving themselves Airs of Importance and Protection, and aping Wisdom, and Credit, and Authority.

In the two or three next Pages is a florid Detail of the Advantages which the Ministry are to, and indeed I believe, would reap from this Coalition, supposing always that the Whigs remain as tame, as humble, and as patient, as they have been, and sit down contented under the Slavery of the Press, as they have under the Dissolu-

tion of the Parliament. But there is one shocking and bloody Sentence which I cannot pass over, and which points out to the Nation all the Lengths which this infamous Author would go, if he could establish his Tory Non Resistance. He would—what? *Whet the blunted Sword of Justice.* This is indeed determining that there are not only Jacobites, but that they shall be persecuted. Has not Justice had it's Scope? Has no Blood been shed? Has *Scotland* suffered no Punishment? Was the Act of Indemnity a rash Act of his Majesty's Natural Clemency, and will his Ministers cancel it? Where then is the Security of the Subject? Will the M—try whet the Sword, which Royal Mercy alone has blunted! What odious Doctrines! rather let the Army be brought over, than Justice be made the Instrument of Oppression. Let any Measures be
taken

taken to confirm their Power, rather than his M——ty's Sacred Name and Unbounded Forgiveness, in which He excells all his Predecessors, should be profaned and of no Effect ! Such Maxims, to use the Author's own Words, *pag. 19. may do the K—more Harm than a Troop or Regiment of Rebels*, as I agree with him, that a Vote in the House of Commons may do him more Harm too : Witness the Vote that turned over the *Hanoverians* to the Queen of *Hungary*, and occasioned the Loss of the Battle of *Fontenoy*.

It appears to me a strange Neglect in this Ministerial Agent, when he was offering such *weighty* Considerations to the Tories, that he entirely omitted mentioning Peerages. Is he ignorant that scarce any Thing now under a Coronet will be taken ? A Man, who under former Ministries
would

would have been happy with a Commission of Hawkers and Pedlars, will now sell his Interest at an Election for nothing less than a Barony? Corruption has gained so much Ground, and Abilities are at so low an Ebb, that the first Honours of the Nation are become as current in Purchases, as Bank-Bills were formerly. The Red Ribband is become a Drug, that lies without Demand for it in the Ministerial Shop: Nobody will accept it, but such as deserve it; and unless we have Victories oftener than we have much Reason to expect, *Harry* the Seventh's Chappel will be desolate; and the great Mastership itself grow not only a Sine Cure, but what is worse, of no Profit. Even the Garter is grown out of Fashion; unless the Modesty of Mankind checks them from asking it, while the greater Part of the Royal Family are without it.

If

If the Country has a Friend, or even a wavering Well-wisher, he is adopted into the Court, and purged of his Opposition in the House of Lords. If a Lord has a Qualm, his Coronet may be new cast—If mighty Dukes should grumble—what Emulsions are to settle their Stomachs?—

Have the Ministry no Way of indemnifying themselves, but by Sixteen new Peerages, for the Loss of Sixteen Employments, which a noble Earl struck off their List of Bribes, when he obtained the last Place-Bill, and was acquitting himself to his Country of his Promises, till a Set of hungry Patriots, who had no Intention of fulfilling *their* Engagements, and who had Cousins and Appetites enough to digest the whole Civil List, wrested the

the imperfect Work out of his Hands, and pay the Nation with nothing but Encomiums on their own childish Administration, and Abuse on every Set of Men, who have never shifted their Principles? But the Letter-Writer has not mentioned Peerages in his Bill of Rates, and therefore I beg Pardon for the Digression.

Having enumerated Emoluments that will attend his Scheme, he next plays off Terrours——and in very Classic *Greek*, assures all Men, both *Trojans* and *Christians*, that they will be damned if they don't go to Court, *pag.* 22. — But I must not trifle on so serious a Subject; nor can I think it permitted me to play with my Religion, after the Manner of this Author. Having the Misfortune to believe all the immortal Truths of the Gospel, I cannot venture to bend them
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to party Purposes; I cannot assume an Authority of dispensing God's Thunder on all who differ from me, and whom, for that Reason only, I brand as Jacobites. A Man who has acted a Patriot for venal Ends, till he saw the Standard of Rebellion flying and inscribed with these Words, *Destruction to Hanoverians*, and who now acts a Tory to whet the blunted Sword of Justice, and destroy the Liberty of his Country, may take Freedoms with *Christ*, and with the Spirit of Devotion, which a Man of less ambitious Profligacy would tremble at. I tremble at such Mockery, and dare not venture on it. Rather than be called Hypocrite, I would endure the hated Name of *Turn-Coat*, which, light as he makes of it, we may see has even wounded this hardened Author.—

Ha! does it gall thee, Tartar!

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The

The unnecessary Mention of this Term of **Reproach**, puts one in mind of Murderers, who cannot help talking of, or even haunting the Scene of their Guilt, till they are detected and brought to Punishment.

I have now done with this saucy Performance, and it's frontless Author. He may perceive, and *shall* perceive, that Spite of his Menaces to the Press, there are honest Pens left, who will dare to lay open to their Country such dangerous Practices ; and they who have published, and they who have countenanced this audacious Book, may live to repent it. May their Names be transmitted to latest Infamy !



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